1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [591]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

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From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaoiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 593 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

593 858 [842] The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally. [764]

However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

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593 854 857 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in'tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the 584 586 178 woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[8]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

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Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

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Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

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Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

000 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
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593 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
591 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
[464] likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

*562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

2: Wolf

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[For information on family relationships in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 57-131, 138-139, 150-212, and 233-281.]

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

• 593

[For family relationships, see category 116, pp. xiv, 23-29, 41-144.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
177 not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[3] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 purposes. Women in these kind of households were seldom
• 593 fully aware of the monthly budget or family financial condition overall.

Table 4. Sex of Budget Manager by Household Type

Household Type	Number*	Male	Joint	Female
Extended	8	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%
Stem	25	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%
Nuclear	30	33.3%	26.7%	30.2%
Total	63	39.7%	30.2%	30.2%

*Omits three men living alone

In 30.2% of the households, the woman managed the budget and handled most of the money although men did participate in decisions regarding major acquisitions. These households are not really the mirror image of the male-managed households for although men (the non-managing sex) might be unaware of the breakdown of monthly expenditures, they usually knew the monthly total and were always quite familiar with the overall financial condition. Additionally, a man always had a personal allowance for which there was no accounting which he could spend on cigarettes, or whatever he liked, but it was often a very small amount. As implied in the previous paragraph, in the male-managed household, women did not know the financial condition nor did they receive a regular allowance.

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593 The third category, 30.2%, is listed as joint and includes those households which were really jointly managed or those which had a regular division of responsibility plus a few households which I could not accurately place in either category listed previously because of conflicting evidence. A joint management system is not unlike the practices connected with the management of an American joint checking account except that in Taiwan, especially in the rural areas, almost everything is on a cash basis. Therefore, all money coming into the house goes into a cash box and all disbursements are paid out of the box (leaving the receipt in its place). Instead of a monthly bank statement to balance, there are periodic conversations about who spent how much for what. Although there was a tendency to state that the male had the major responsibility in these households, it appeared to me that women were usually in effective control for they could rattle off the details of the expenditures with greater facility than men and both sexes also agreed that it was usually the female who initiated the conversation required to balance the accounts.

Most young men and women who earned wages turned their full pay over to their families to manage. However, each retained a regular small allowance (or turned over the money and got back an allowance) and were furnished extra money for expensive items such as clothing as needed.

592 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money
• 593 but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest
[562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the
596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri-
592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex-
596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. [262] [426] [454] [838] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
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Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

• 593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realisation of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in hus-
558 bands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has impor-
183 tant implications for the role of women. There are prob-
123 ably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

• 593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
585 is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
554 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
587 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in
688 common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

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At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
• 598 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
• 595 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>simosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

591 paid to the natal family but it is said that the older
[435] the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers
[548] did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed
[178] for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

591 The traditional literature suggests that the treat-
562 ment of adopted daughters in a household was often extreme-
593 ly harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later <u>siaosiv</u> marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 837 482 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women and children carry children around strapped to their backs

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857 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big
482 as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely
603 indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
352 the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [383] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [bus] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
765 as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
162 could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

• 593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

• 593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

[551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [719] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [848] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that woman tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
182 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
• 593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[561] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to support in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

However, the most important relationship under consideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

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• 543 also serves to maintain the pretense. A casual observer may easily be fooled for in many cases, it appears that the villagers are actually fooling themselves. There is no common kinship term that a man can use to address his wife. Until the children are born, permitting teknonymy through them, a man avoids using any term at all other than the equivalent of "hey you." However, the wife can both address and refer to her husband as "Lord and Master." While the idea of subordination-superordination is conveyed by the term, it may be used by a domineering wife as part of an order to her husband to perform some task. To illustrate, Liao Wei-yu (one of the men in the six-family compound described in Chapter V), his cousin Liao Wei-I, and I spent about four hours one afternoon sitting in his courtyard trying to repair a tea presser. During the first three hours, his wife sent Wei-yu on several errands such as fetching water, bringing wood to the kitchen, putting up a bamboo pole for drying clothes, etc., each time ordering the task in an imperious tone although the command was prefaced by the usual "Lord and Master." Wei-yu complained to us, softly so his wife would not hear, that to refuse her requests would only cause trouble. After about three hours, the li secretary stopped by to review some tax record changes with Wei-yu, a village lin chang (neighborhood leader). Because the secretary is an important official, the four of us went into the kung t'ing and sat around the table while Wei-yu ordered

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
542 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
58 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
599 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593 alike in Sanlei village:
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> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all
591 houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

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[591] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many
[595] households have officially registered female heads. W.
562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a
592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as